Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ABIDJA 00404 01 OF 02 141007Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 SS-15 /026 W
----------015269 141009Z /23
R 131725Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6917
INFO AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
AMEMBASSY BANGUI
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ABIDJAN 0404

FOR AF ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, US, XA
SUBJECT: POLICY INITIATIVES IN AFRICA

REF: A. 77 STATE 311031 B. BANGUI 0024

1. EMBASSY ABIDJAN APPLAUDS AF'S INITIATIVE TO FIND WAYS TO STRENGTHEN TIES WITH AFRICA'S MODERATE NATIONS. AT THE OUTSET, WE SHOULD NOTE THAT U.S. EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH BETTER RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES THAT HAVE IN THE PAST BEEN COOL OR UNFRIENDLY TOWARDS U.S. AFRICAN POLICY HAVE NOT BEEN DELETERIOUS TO OUR RELATIONS WITH THE IVORY COAST. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT HOUPHOUET FEELS NEGLECTED AS A RESULT OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF U.S. RELATIONS WITH NIGERIA OR THE FRONT-LINE STATES IN THE SOUTH. INDEED, AS SUGGESTED IN OUR PARM SUBMISSION (77 ABIDJAN 3270), A KEY OBJECTIVE FOR U.S. POLICY AS REGARDS THE IVORY COAST IS THE ASSUMPTION AND MAINTENANCE OF A
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ABIDJA 00404 01 OF 02 141007Z

POSITION OF WESTERN LEADERSHIP IN RESOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. IF OUR EFFORTS THERE HAVE NOT SO FAR BEEN WHOLLY SUCCESSFUL, HOUPHOUET HAS CLEARLY BEEN ENCOURAGED BY OUR READINESS TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE, IN CONTRAST WITH WHAT HE VIEWED AS OUR ABDICATION IN ANGOLA. WE HAVE BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH HOUPHOUET ON SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE HORN. PRESIDENT'S EXCHANGE OF LETTERS WITH

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

HOUPHOUET IN MARCH AND APRIL, AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S VISIT IN MAY, AND THE SECRETARY'S READINESS TO RECEIVE HOUPHOUET'S EMISSARY IN RIYADH THIS MONTH HAVE DEMONSTRATED OUR INCLINATION TO SOLICIT AND PAY HEED TO HIS VIEWS. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT MORE CANNOT BE DONE, BUT OVERALL OUR RELATIONS WITH THE IVORY COAST HAVE PROBABLY BEEN STRENGTHENED IN THE PAST YEAR.

2. HOUPHOUET REGARDS HIS COUNTRY, QUITE SINCERELY, AS PART OF THE WESTERN FAMILY OF NATIONS. AS HE TOLD A RECENT CODEL, "ONE CHOOSES ONE'S FRIENDS; ONE IS BORN INTO A FAMILY." DESPITE HIS ADMIRATION FOR AND CLOSE TIES WITH THE FRENCH, HE RECOGNIZES THE U.S. AS THE LOGICAL LEADER OF THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES AND AN INDISPENSABLE COUNTERWEIGHT TO SOVIET INFLUENCE IN AFRICA. AT THEIR MOST FUNDAMENTAL LEVEL, OUR RELATIONS WITH THE IVORY COAST WILL DEPEND ON HOW RESPONSIBLY AND EFFECTIVELY WE ARE SEEN TO BE CARRYING OUT THAT ROLE. THERE ARE SECONDARY OR SUPPLEMENTARY STEPS WE CAN TAKE, BILATERALLY, IN AFRICAN REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS, OR TOWARDS AFRICA AS A WHOLE; BUT, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, WE WILL BE JUDGED ON OUR READINESS TO ASSUME WHAT HOUPHOUET SEES AS THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST DEMOCRATIC POWER. HOUPHOUET IS PREPARED TO HELP, BUT HE HAS NO ILLUSIONS THAT HIS OWN OR OTHER AFRICAN STATES CAN ALONE RESOLVE THE MOST URGENT PROBLEMS OF AFRICA.
CONFIDENTIAL

3. WE AGREE WITH AMBASSADOR QUAINTON (IN BANGUI'S EXCELLENT 0024) THAT AFRICAN MODERATES SEE FIRST AMONG THESE PROBLEMS THE CONTINUED AND INCREASING SOVIET-CUBAN INCURSION, AND THE GROWING ECONOMIC DISPARITY BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH. BUT HOUPHOUET SEES THEM IN A DIFFERENT WAY THAN DOES BOKASSA. HOUPHOUET'S OBJECTIVE SINCE INDEPENDENCE HAS BEEN TO MAKE HIS COUNTRY WORTHY POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY OF BEING A MEMBER OF THE "WESTERN FAMILY." HE SEES THE DEFENSE AGAINST TOTALITARIANISM ON THE ONE HAND AND CHAOS ON THE OTHER AS INSTITUTIONAL, NOT MILITARY, THE CREATION OF NATIONAL AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES WHICH WILL MAINTAIN DEVELOPMENT SUFFICIENT TO SATISFY AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS. THE SOVIET PRESENCE AND THE SLOW PACE OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE THREATEN HIS EFFORTS, HOUPHOUET BELIEVES, AND POSE AN OBSTACLE TO DEVELOPMENT INSURMOUNTABLE BY AFRICANS ALONE. THE U.S. ROLE IS SEEN AS CRUCIAL AND, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, OUR WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY TO PLAY THE ROLE HOUPHOUET AND THE MODERATES EXPECT US TO PLAY ON THE GREAT ISSUES CONFRONTING AFRICA WILL DETERMINE THEIR JUDGMENT OF US.

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ABIDJA 00404 02 OF 02 141028Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 ONY-00 /026 W
----------015320 141032Z /11
R 131725Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6918
INFO AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
AMEMBASSY BANGUI
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ABIDJAN 0404

FOR AF ONLY

4. THAT SAID, THERE ARE STILL WAYS IN WHICH WE CAN MAKE CLEAR TO THE IVORY COAST'S LEADERSHIP OUR AWARENESS OF ITS SPECIAL POSITION IN AFRICA. THE EMBASSY ALREADY ENJOYS A "DIALOGUE" WITH HOUPHOUET AND HIS GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS PROVED EFFECTIVE AND USEFUL. TO REINFORCE IT, WE WOULD RECOMMEND MORE CONSULTATIONS ON IMPORTANT ISSUES BEFORE THE EVENT WITH HOUPHOUET AND OTHER SELECTED MODERATES. THE US-UK RHODESIAN PROPOSALS, FOR EXAMPLE, COULD HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED TO THE GOIC PRIOR TO PUBLICATION, EVEN IF BY A DAY OR SO. EQUALLY, OUR SEEKING HOUPHOUET'S SUPPORT OR ACTION ON ISSUES WHERE HE CAN USE EFFECTIVE REDOUNDS TO

OUR BILATERAL INTEREST HERE. HIS QUICK RESPONSE TO OUR SUGGESTION OF A MESSAGE OF SUPPORT FOR SADAT SUGGESTS THE REQUEST WAS WELCOME; AND OUR INTEREST IN HIS INITIATIVE WITH SIAD BARRE WILL HAVE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS HERE, WHETHER OR NOT IT HAS POLITICAL ONES IN THE HORN.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ABIDJA 00404 02 OF 02 141028Z

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

5. HIGH-LEVEL VISITS, SUCH AS AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S OR THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S, CAN BE EXTREMELY EFFECTIVE. LIKE OTHER AFRICANS, HOUPHOUET VALUES FACE-TO-FACE CONTACT. IN ADDITION TO TOP ADMINISTRATION FIGURES, WE RECOMMEND VISITS BEFORE MAJOR INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS, SUCH AS THE UNGA, FOR CONCRETE ISSUE-BY-ISSUE CONSULTATIONS. THE EMBASSY OF COURSE CONSULTS ON THESE MATTERS, BUT VISITS SERVE PSYCHOLOGICAL AS WELL AS PRACTICAL OBJECTIVES.

6. RECEPTIVITY TO AFRICAN EMISSARIES, AS SHOWN BY THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH GHOULEM BERRAH, CAN BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. WE ENDORSE BANGUI'S SUGGESTION THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT COULD BE CALLED UPON IN THIS REGARD, FOR EXAMPLE, IN RECEIVING PHILIPPE YACE LATER THIS MONTH IN WASHINGTON.

7. WE CAN ALWAYS USE MORE SELF-HELP MONEY, PARTICULARLY SINCE IT IS PRACTICALLY THE ONLY VISIBLE USAID PROGRAM IN THE IVORY COAST. BUT EVEN A GREATLY INCREASED PROGRAM IS NOT GOING TO HAVE A MEASURABLE IMPACT ON THIS FAST-GROWING ECONOMY. TRADE AND INVESTMENT ARE THE NAME OF THE GAME HERE, AND NUANCES IN THE U.S. POSITION ON COMMODITIES ARE PROBABLY MORE IMPORTANT THAN SMALL THOUGH WELL-PUBLICIZED SELF-HELP PROJECTS.

8. THOUGH RECOGNIZING THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN SECURITY ASSISTANCE, ITS USE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN NEGLECTED HERE. WE DO NOT PROPOSE MAJOR ARMS TRANSFERS, BUT MODEST TRAINING PROGRAMS WHICH COULD DEMONSTRATE OUR INTEREST IN THE IVORY COAST, BOTH MILITARILY AND ECONOMICALLY. TRAINING IN FIELDS LIKE MILITARY MEDICINE, ENGINEERING, LOGISTICS, NAVAL OPERATIONS, AND THE LIKE WOULD BE WELL RECEIVED HERE WITHOUT DIMINISHING ESSENTIAL DEPENDENCE ON FRANCE FOR MILITARY SUPPORT. WE ARE DUBIOUS, HOWEVER, CONFIDENTIAL

ABOUT DIRECT SUPPORT OR INVOLVEMENT WITH THE CEAO DEFENSE ARRANGEMENT, AT LEAST UNTIL IT TAKES CLEARER FORM. MEMBERS OF CEAO APPARENTLY TAKE WIDELY DIFFERENT VIEWS AS TO WHAT THE PACT SHOULD ENTAIL. COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY SUPPORT SEEMS MORE APPROPRIATE AND LESS LIABLE TO CAUSE PROBLEMS FOR SOME MEMBERS OF CEAO -- NIGER AND MALI -- WHO ARE LESS THAN ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT ITS MUTUAL ASSISTANCE ASPECTS.

9. ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, PERHAPS INCLUDING CEAO, CAN BE EFFECTIVE. ECOWAS, OCAM, THE AFDF, AND OTHERS REPRESENT AFRICAN RESPONSES TO ITS BASIC PROBLEMS WHICH DESERVE OUR SUPPORT EVEN WHEN THEY ARE NOT ENTIRELY IN ACCORD WITH SOME U.S. INTERESTS. OUR OPPOSITION TO AFDF LOANS TO FINANCE PRODUCTION OF COMPETITIVE COMMODITIES

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

MAY SERVE SHORT-RANGE OBJECTIVES, BUT NOT OUR LONG-TERM
POLICIES IN AFRICA. AND OUR EXPRESSED READINESS TO HELP
SUCH FLEDGLING INSTITUTIONS AS ECOWAS WOULD BE HELPFUL IN
WEST AFRICA, EVEN SHOULD OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE BE
ECONOMICALLY MORE EFFICIENT. TO APPEAR TO RESPOND TO
AFRICAN PRIORITIES RATHER THAN IMPOSING OUR OWN WILL ENHANCE
OUR RELATIONS WITH GOOD FRIENDS LIKE HOUPHOUET AS WELL AS
WITH OTHER AFRICANS.
STEARNS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978ABIDJA00404
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780022-0046
Format: TEL
From: ABIDJAN
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780167/aaaacejc.tel
Line Count: 233
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: b52cfce3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: 77 STATE 311031
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3780017
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: POLICY INITIATIVES IN AFRICA
TAGS: PGOV, US, XA, IV
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b52cfce3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014